

The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF ALBION.

Dorchester Gaol, March 6th, Year 500 of
Parliamentary Corruption in this Island;
and, according to the Jew Books, about
the Year 5000 of Priestcraft and King-
craft.

CITIZENS,

I HAVE been too *seriously* occupied hitherto, to tell you that the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland is again in Session, and that it has so been for a month past, but I will try to relax somewhat of my usual gravity, and see if I can describe to you what it has been doing. *It*, I call it *it*, for *it* has been of the neuter gender almost ever since *it* played the masculine part of bringing Charles the First to the block; and the feminine part of suffering Cromwell to become a protector, and Charles the Second a director again. *It* had no influence in expelling James the Second. *It* had no influence in bringing over the Dutch King, nor any power to prevent his coming. *It* had no influence either in bringing in or keeping out the Guelphs. *It* has had no influence independent of the Boroughmongers and their ministers, since that time. In short, it is a regiment disciplined to the war of fraud and delusion. In its professions of peace it disturbs the world: in its wantings of humanity it destroys thousands of human beings; and by the powers and operations of its Christian Virtues it reduces to beggary, nakedness and starvation industrious millions. *It* is a strange and hideous MONSTER.

It began its operations this year, as is usual, by a King's Speech, which was compounded of the wind of some Lords Commissioners, compressed *upwards* through the bowels of compassion, without either searing or soiling the conscience, of the Lord Chancellor, and was born with a foul belching that impressed upon our olfactory nerves a sense of the corruption it had passed, and left upon

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our ears the all important and unmixed sound, that the King had been to Scotland last year and had metamorphosed the once wily Sawney into a contempt of his King Jesus, and into a flatterer of this world's Royalty, even upon his own soil.

It said nothing about the distress of the farmers, nothing about sedition and blasphemy, though the trade flourishes better than ever, and though His Majesty's Judges are sweating at every pore to serve their customers with the increased demand for these goods: in fact, it said nothing about any thing but the royal degradation of Scotland, which nobody wanted to hear, as we had heard more than enough of that before.

The glorious revolt of the Grecians was nothing. The establishment of a world of Republics across the Atlantic was nothing. The attempts of the Holy Allied Despots to put down Republicanism in the South of Europe was comparatively trifling, compared with, OUR ROYAL VOYAGE TO SCOTLAND.

Well, Republicans, the King's Speech, whether it proceeds from the Royal lungs, or the equally polluted lungs of the Lords Commissioners, with the aid of a few prayers, muttered to the *powerless* King of Kings (in whose name all the evils that exist in the world is practised) constitutes a Parliament; that is, a certain number of two-legged, creeping animals have the King's license to practice the liberty of speech; to talk over certain matters among themselves; and talk they do! in a manner that makes me often hug my good fortune, in being a prisoner in solitude, rather than a member of Parliament. Here I am free from all offensive smokes and sick head-aches which must inevitably be obtained where such a parliament talks.

Well, they talk, or *it* talks, about unanimous feeling and detestation towards the Holy Allies and the French Bourbons, for their conduct towards Spain; whilst Canning laughs in his sleeve, and reels under the weight of such base, such misapplied flattery.

It talks a great deal about taxes and money, and this is the only talk to the purpose; here words are reduced to actions.

It talks about Orangeism, Protestantism, Catholicism, and taxed ponies: which would not be the case if the whole people of Great Britain and Ireland were not taxed ponies, hard ridden asses, or something worse.

It talks about public debt, public credit, equitable ad-

justments, the honour of debtors, and the faith of creditors: insolvent debtors, Jew creditors; paying all, paying half, paying nothing; ruined landlords, ruined farmers, and starving labourers, a flourishing army, decayed navy, new churches, new palaces, the sacred or right-divine property of the priests: the sinecurists and pensioners with their vested interests; and the all-important right of petition! It talks about every thing, and protects every thing, but industry: and though last, not least, it talks about the SINKING FUND!

The Sinking Fund is the only thing talked of in the Parliament that is called by its right name, and that from accident rather than design. It *was* a notable scheme, for the life of it is gone, and the body annihilated now, which had for its principle, that the right way to get rid of a debt was to increase it by every possible means; and hence you may see the propriety of its name, *a Sinking Fund*: that is, a fund established for the purpose of a deeper sinking of the Government in debt, until it sinks below the surface, and out of sight, when, as a matter of course, the whole debt will be paid, for debtor will pull down creditor, both will sink out of sight together, and AN ASTONISHED PEOPLE WILL FIND THEMSELVES LEFT EXPOSED TO THE SUN, THE WINDS, AND THE RAINS; AND UNDER THE NECESSITY OF ESTABLISHING A NEW SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH, I TRUST, WILL HAVE NOTHING MORE TO DO WITH VESTED RIGHTS, OR RIGHTS DIVINE, WITH SINKING DEBTS, OR SINKING FUNDS: WITH KINGS, OR PRIESTS, OR LORDS COMMISSIONERS.

So here my story ends, after all this *parlé* about the Parliament.

R. CARLILE.

ADDRESS TO MRS. CARLILE, WITH HER ANSWER.

MR. Robinson, whose name has frequently appeared in "The Republican," as the bearer of the subscriptions of an association at the West end of London, for the support of Mr. Carlile and those who are persecuted with him, called on Mrs. Carlile on the 20th of February, with a deputation of friends from the association, and addressed her as follows:

MRS. CARLILE,

WE are deputed to wait upon you to offer the sincere congratulations of a few friends in the West of London, who subscribe towards defraying the amount of the cruel and unparalleled fines levied on Mr. and Miss Mary Ann Carlile.

We give you a hearty welcome on your return to the bosom of society from a dungeon, of which, in our opinion, you ought never to have been an inmate; but we are happy to see you returned in good health and spirits and surrounded by your four innocent little children.

We are likewise feelingly sensible that you cannot enjoy ease of mind whilst you and your husband are separated. His name, Richard Carlile, will rank foremost, as the boldest supporter of the liberty of the press of any we find recorded in the page of history.

We now come to the expression of a very pleasing part of our mission, namely, to pay into your hands, the sum of £11. 7s. being the amount of another subscription, and we wish it had been a much larger amount. However, we *pledge ourselves to be unceasing in our efforts until the fines of Mr. and Miss Mary Ann Carlile are paid.*

Madam, you are perfectly sensible that we can have no object in view, but to support genuine principles founded on Reason, Truth, and Justice. In thus waiting upon you with our honest congratulations and aid, we offer the language of sincerity and disinterestedness. We are unlike the fawning courtly sycophants, who, with servile flattery on their lips and guile in their hearts, applaud merely for the sake of what they can receive, in any degrading shape, of that property which is wrung from the hard labour of the most industrious and most useful part of the community.

Madam, we have performed our task and now take our leave, by wishing you good health, prosperity, and happiness, and that your virtuous conduct may be imitated by the female Republicans of Great Britain.

To which Mrs. Carlile returned the following Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I FEEL the full force of your kindness, and recollect with gratitude the many instances of support which you have afforded my husband in his struggle with Christian persecution. For him too, I can answer and say, that I know him to be equally grateful with myself, and that his aim and ambition will be to make his exertions and their effects commensurate with the support you and many others are giving him, to prosecute a cause worthy of this age of reformation on the one hand, and holy alliances on the other. A cause worthy of a united struggle for its acquisition by all who lay claim to intelligence and desire emancipation.

For myself, whether I look back to my two years im-

prisonment, or to the cause of it, I can only say, that I feel no other merit than that of having done the duty of a wife, in aid and support of a husband whom I knew to be unjustly fined, robbed, and imprisoned, by men whose power I now rejoice to see rapidly waning.

Was my assistance again necessary for the management of his business, I should not hesitate a moment again to place myself in the same situation through which I have passed: but, Gentlemen, I am happy to say, that by your aid, and that of others, even in the result of our persecutions we have found our triumph. Mr. Carlile finds an increasing supply of men and money wherewith to prosecute his warfare with Corruption's host, a circumstance that affords another proof, if it were necessary, that genuine Republicanism is the basis of the only political principles that can make patriots of men, and honest men of politicians. It is this that kindles a fire to scorch and repel the sinister views of the political babbler and the trading politician, whilst it burns unquenchable in the bosom of the patriot and philanthropist through life, and hovers over his name and memory after death as a light to guide others by so good an example.

Gentlemen, in returning to your friends and my friends, and in narrating the circumstances of the deputed visit with which I have been honoured, do not fail to reiterate my grateful thanks, and my pledge of devotion, to a cause I have wedded with my husband, and which I will not fail to impress deeply upon the minds of the children you see before you.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

FELLOW CITIZEN, London, Feb. 28, 1823.
It is now a few months since I had the pleasure of addressing you in behalf of your old subscribing friends in the West of London.

They very sincerely congratulate you on the liberation of Mrs. Carlile, and very happy to find she has left her dungeon, in excellent health; no doubt very much to the mortification of her iniquitous persecutors.

We anxiously look forward to your speedy liberation, and to that of your Sister, Miss Mary Ann Carlile.

One very material point has been obtained toward your own release. Two very respectable and properly qualified bail most generously volunteered their services for you for life, in the sum of One Hundred Pounds each, almost on the moment when an individual named

that you were unprovided with bail, at the dinner on the 29th of January, at the Brewer Street Assembly Rooms. The circumstance met with the most enthusiastic applause, I dare say you have been made acquainted with the offer.

I had the pleasure of paying into the hands of Mrs. Carlile, Eleven Pounds Seven Shillings, which I believe is our fifth or sixth subscription, including two auxiliary subscriptions, which the enclosed documents will explain. You will be so good as to acknowledge the same in your usual way according to each list of subscribers.

There is also a generous individual subscription from a good patriot, Mr. Frame, of One Pound.

Notwithstanding the recent conviction of Mrs. Wright and Mr. Tunbridge, I am happy to find your friends, and friends to the cause you so firmly and steadily advocate, are rapidly increasing.

The dictum of Judges, aided by corrupt and prejudiced Juries, cannot stem the torrent of the philosophic and scientific information you have so widely spread. Tyrants, hypocrites, and bigots cannot meet cool philosophic reasoning on fair terms. They rave and apply the epithets Radical, Atheist, Blasphemer, &c, which clearly shew the weakness of the systems they advocate. Even the Judges, now a days, dare not listen to the defences offered by individuals cruelly persecuted by the bands of fellows, calling themselves Vice and Constitutional Societies (meaning vice and corruption) very worthy of each other, with the Attorney General at their head.

In behalf of your subscribing friends, Fellow Citizen, I am, most sincerely in the good cause,

Your fellow labourer,

ROBERT ROBINSON.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

London, Wednesday, Jan. 25, 1823.

At a time when the whole horde of truth-haters, and would be shacklers of the mind are conspiring together to forcibly and unjustifiably crush all those who are bold enough (like unto yourself) to promulgate truth, and expose falsehood in all its hideous features. We the undersigned advocates for a representative system of Government and an elective Magistracy, feel it a duty, an imperative duty, to step forward and render our assistance to one who has so nobly, undauntedly, and boldly defended truth against the sophisms and monster-like dispositions of his Christian persecutors. We likewise sincerely hope, Sir, that all those who have felt the beneficial effects of your labours, we mean those labours which have been productive of so much good within the last three or four years, such as dragging forth from obscurity to public notice those inestimable

works which in all probability have released their minds from all the horrors of superstition which cunning and designing priests have so eagerly and studiously imprinted on them. I say, Sir, we sincerely hope they will lend you all the assistance in their power, and stimulate others to follow the same bright example as a token of gratitude and remuneration for the difficulties you have had to encounter, and the privations you, and your family have suffered, by being twice publicly robbed of all your property, to an amount exceeding that of your fines, for merely following the dictates of reason. In hopes of soon being able to reinstate you in your business, from which you were so wantonly, inhumanly, and dastardly torn; and likewise that you, your obedient and loving Wife, and that truly virtuous Sister of rigid fidelity, may soon enjoy perfect liberty, is the wish,

Dear Sir,

Of your Fellow Citizen, on behalf of the Subscribers.

J. WAINBRIGHT.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
James Walker, a Republican	8	0	J. Wainbright, Republican	7	6
Thomas Walker, ditto	2	0	Maria Davies	0	3
Frederick Walker, ditto	8	6	A female Friend to Mr. Carlile and family	1	3
T. S. a Deist and Republican	1	3	Sarah Andrews, one who cannot reconcile herself to believe a woman to be a pure virgin after she has received the embraces of a man in the shape of a ghost	1	0
Joseph Turner, Republican	2	0	Mrs. Day	1	0
Mr. S——r, a Materialist	0	3	Mr. Arnold	1	6
William Bond, a Republican and Deist	3	1	Mr. Whitelan	0	2
R. S. a real Radical, who knows how to march to the right, and march to the left, and who will at any time lend a hand with 100,000 of his countrymen to cut up Kingcraft and Priestcraft	1	1½	Charles James	1	0

Subscriptions of a few Friends for the undaunted advocate of Free Discussion, Mr. R. Carlile.

W. B. a Jacobin	5	0	W. Loughborough	0	6
A. Ditto	2	6	Two Friends of R. Scott's	1	0
H. Morland	1	0	John Thurrel	5	0
Mahomet	1	0	G. Arkley	1	0
J. Skivens	1	0	W. Chapman	21	6
Wood	1	0	G. D.	0	6
Whitworth	0	6	Mr. Brown	2	6
W. Walker	1	0	R. Scott	1	0
J. Henevy	1	0	Phillips	0	6
C. Elias	1	0	W. Andrews	0	6
Andrews	1	0	M'Crerie	0	6
H. Snowden	0	6	Newman	0	6
M. Luckett	1	0	J. Clows	0	6

TO MR. ROBERT ROBINSON, LONDON.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Goal, March 6, 1823.

I HAVE but little to say to you in return for this further instance of liberal support from my friends in the West end of London (for there are Republicans as well as Aristocrats in that part of the town.) I find further than to give you my thanks and a becoming acknowledgment of your kindness and generosity. In the way of promise I can only say that to whatever extent mine and the public robbers may protract my imprisonment, it shall never work a change in my principles, nor obtain a voluntary relaxation in my warfare on priestcraft and kingcraft. If I have no other virtue, I can boast the one of an obstinacy that will grow with the oppression and persecution it may receive; particularly, as every day brings me a still clearer knowledge that the cause I advocate is just and good.

I return my warmest thanks to Messrs. Wainbright, Thurrell, Walkers, Frame, Chapman, and the many others connected with your association, and promise them that I will studiously improve my conduct so as to leave them no ground for saying or regretting that their support has been misapplied: respectfully yours, Citizen,

R. CARLILE.

AN ADDRESS TO MRS. CARLILE;

FROM THE FEMALE REPUBLICANS OF MANCHESTER.

MUCH ESTEEMED SISTER,

Manchester, Feb. 17, 1823.

WE the undersigned Female Republicans of Manchester; in behalf of the whole, congratulate you on the expiration of your unjust and vindictive sentence of imprisonment; and your liberation from the Christian Bastile of Dorchester, after the lapse of 3 years imprisonment to your brave husband, 2 years to yourself, and 1 year to your sister; and after the blessings of Christianity which have since been bestowed on Rhodes, Boyle, Holmes, Tunbridge, and lastly our brave Mrs. Wright, who has made such a noble stand against the friends of kingcraft, priestcraft, superstition and delusion. After the comforts which you have received from the supporters of the humble Jesus; the members of those little Holy Alliances, the

Bridge Street Gang and the virtuous Vice Society, with the Bishop of Clogher at its head; after they had entered your house, seized upon every thing that was calculated to make life comfortable, and left you and your new-born infant to languish and perish, for what they cared; after your frequent arrests, long imprisonment, and the inevitable dispersion of your infant family, to support, what is blasphemously called the will of God; where is the person of common sense who will say, that Christianity is calculated to make people honest and happy? Can that system of religion which teaches us to rob our fellow creatures under the pretence of fines; that system which teaches us to torture our fellow mortals and consign their bodies to a prison, and that pretended immortal part, the soul, to eternal condemnation and everlasting fire, for not believing what they say is both incomprehensible and divine. Can that system be sufficient to convince us that it is the will of God? Will that God which causes the sun to shine, the rain to descend, and every thing to spring in its season; that feeds and supports the Infidel as well as the believer of any and of every creed? Will that power which displays affection to all creatures in its works, damn us to eternal misery for not believing the dogmas of those inhuman monsters, called priests? Can he, who acts with justice towards all, wish us to bend with obedience to a set of men who want to oppress the poor; deprive the hireling of his wages; and the widow of her right? No, it is impossible, it is inconsistent with the laws of nature and with every moral law. From these considerations we are constrained to conclude that that system which is opposed to humanity and justice, is calculated to injure mankind and make them miserable, and it is the duty of every person, male and female, to oppose it to the uttermost of their power as you have done.

The Female Republicans of Manchester, have viewed, with an inexpressible delight and joyful sensation, the bold and heroic part which you have performed in encountering the band of Christian man-tigers, and they hope as soon as you have settled your domestic affairs, and can make it convenient, that you will bestow upon them the greatest favour you have in your power, viz. to visit Manchester; where you shall be welcome to the best that their humble situation in life will admit, luxuries are withheld from us for the consumption and gratification of our Tyrants, but if you will oblige us we hope to partake of something better than luxuries, a mental enjoyment, such as is preferred by every honest and considerate mind, and at all times more agreeable to the virtuous female.

Mary Barlow.

Rachel Thomson.

Mary Walker.

Ellen Bottomley.

Martha Naseby.

Mary Ann Tellford.

Nancy Wheeler.

Ann Bottomley.

Jane Gratrex.

Abigail Longbottom.

Mary Marshall.

Ann Betty.

Mary Williams.

Mary Ann Rhodes.

TO THE FEMALE REPUBLICANS OF MAN- CHESTER.

REPUBLICAN SISTERS, London, Feb. 24th, 1823.

I HAVE read your address with pleasure and with grateful feelings, and respond to all its sentiments with approbation. I have returned to London from my *family prison*, and am not ashamed to look any one of my persecutors in the face; conscious that the cause of my imprisonment was disreputable to none but those who enforced it.

I thank you for the invitation you have given me to visit Manchester, being fond of travelling, I should cheerfully accept it, did not my little family form an obstacle to my wishes. However, should I find it possible, in the course of the approaching spring or summer, to make arrangements for that purpose, I will not fail to apprise you of my capability and intention. I should feel a pleasure to put my infant, Hypatia, into the hands of those who were so kind as to anticipate her birth by so many useful presents, and to return them thanks in person. At no period of my life did I ever feel so much delight as in unfolding the parcel which contained them, and I feel satisfied, that it could be only again equalled by the welcome I should find in stepping into each of your houses.

I think but little of luxuries, and much less of formalities and ceremonies; if I can come into the North of England, I shall not come as a stranger, but with the familiarity of a friend, a neighbour and an every day acquaintance.

I remain, my respected friends, gratefully yours,

JANE CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

CITIZEN,

Leeds, Jan. 30, 1823.

I HAVE the heartfelt pleasure of transmitting to you the sum of £4. 0s. 3d. being a further subscription by the Republicans of Leeds and its neighbourhood, who wish to assist you in every possible way, towards the liquidation of those fines which have been imposed upon you.

They were induced to send this small subscription, in order to give you assistance at a time when the Royal Robbers were about

destroying, instead of selling your property; with the assurance that they will not relax in their exertions in giving you all the support that lies in their power until the whole amount of your fines are paid.

Let me now congratulate you on the progress you have made in propagating sound principles in opposition to every thing that is corrupt; whether it has sprung from an open enemy or a pretended friend calculated to deceive and mislead those who only want good examples to make them honest. If we want proof of this we have only to look back to the time when you first started into public life, and see from thence the wonders you have worked, single handed, by giving publicity to the works of the Immortal Paine. Then let us look at what might have been done if all the political writers had banished from their minds the system of expedients, which disgrace them. We should not then have seen persons travelling one or two hundred miles to attend County Meetings to recommend that degrading game of Petitioning which they once, as a means to obtain public notice and support, denounced so much in others. No, the work would have been done which they pretend now to advocate. I begin to think that those men want any thing but a Reform, as they appear to profit by the system they pretend to denounce. But you, Sir, have hitherto acted nobly in the glorious cause of battering down corruption in all its bearings; and as such I think you are deserving of the support of every honest man in the country. By continuing to tread in the same steps you will have the admiration of your friend and well wisher,

WILLIAM DRIVER.

Subscriptions from Leeds.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Balance of last Subscription	2	3	Mary Denvy	0	6
Joseph Kershaw	1	0	John Fowler	1	6
George Spurr	0	2	Ellen Byerley	0	6
Thomas Maltby	3	6	J. M. Farnley	1	0
John Ramsden	3	6	J. B.	2	6
R. W. Byerley	4	0	J. T.	0	6
John Smithson	4	3	A Friend	0	6
Thomas Green, Mill Bridge	1	0	A Friend	0	6
Abraham Walker, Rastrick	1	0	A Friend to Carlile	0	6
Joseph Oats	1	0	An Enemy to Despotism	0	6
An Enemy to Monarchical Despotism	1	0	A Friend to Thomas Paine	0	3
A. Carr, Huddersfield	0	6	Charles Button	0	6
Joseph Hurtle	2	9	A Friend to Freedom	0	2
James Longbottom	3	6	James Gouldthorp	0	6
William Kirk	0	11	From a few Friends at Skip-		
Joseph Gill	2	9	ton, hearty detesters of		
Samuel Ingham	1	0	both Kings and Priests	20	0
William Dunwell	1	6	A Friend to the Cause	0	2
William Driver	4	3	From another, but cannot		
G. B.	0	6	give what he has not got	0	1
Joseph Webster, Pullsey	1	0	A Detester of Bishops	1	0
			Charles Robinson, a Deist	1	0

A Friend to Truth	0	6	J. Hewson	0	6
A Friend	0	3	An old Enemy to all Soul		
James Warburton	0	6	Tinkers	2	0
Duke Hatfield	1	0	Universal Citizenship	2	0

TO MR. WILLIAM DRIVER, LEEDS.

SIR, Dorchester Goal, Feb. 3, 1823.

MY friends of Leeds and Skipton, have my grateful thanks for this their further well-timed instance of their support and zeal in the cause of propagating useful principles.

I cannot but think with you, that the accomplishment of what the Petitioners pray for, as regards Reform of Parliament, would be an unwelcome acquisition to many of those who have no other notion of political rights than the right of petitioning; and who make themselves busy in the exercise of this *much boasted right!* at the expence of a groupe of dupes who really do not know what is necessary to be done to relieve themselves from the taxation and distress which paralyzes their industry. The suffering people of this country must look to other measures than petitioning the oppressor for a Reform, before they will acquire a shadow of any thing like good government.

I take no notice of the county meetings for petitioning; because I know that the act of petitioning for a Reform of Parliament is a childish, slavish and stupid object; but I really wish to see a petition from every county in the Island in public meeting assembled, the better to illustrate the inutility of the matter.

Whoever contemplates the aggregate trouble and expence of convening a county meeting, and then considers that it meets for no other purpose than to consent to the inscribing of a few servile and ineffective sentences on a piece of parchment, which is laughed at and treated with contempt when it reaches its destination, must see that the thing is an idle bugbear, got up for some sinister purpose. Every copy of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man" or "Age of Reason" that circulates, does more real good than any petition that issues even from the county of York.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. WILLIAM TUNBRIDGE, HOUSE OF CORRECTION,
COLD BATH FIELDS.

SIR,

FOR the noble stand that you have recently made in the cause of Free Discussion, I beg your acceptance of the enclosed Five Pound Note. I am a perfect stranger to you, and in all probability shall long remain so, because the interests of my family are so connected with the reigning superstition, that I deem it imprudent publicly to avow my sentiments. The trifling donation therefore that I now convey to you arises from a fellow-feeling for the privations you are about to endure in consequence of an unjust and illegal sentence. In fact, the annals of the Spanish Inquisition do not exhibit a scene of greater enormity than did your trial in the Court of King's Bench. The Lord Chief Justice was not satisfied with torturing you by repeated interruptions whilst you were proceeding in your unanswerable defence, but at length ordered you to be gagged in open Court. Whilst in that state, an ignorant and bigotted Jury perjured themselves by bringing in a verdict against you, without any satisfactory evidence to support it. When I reflect on the numerous trials for Blasphemy that have taken place since the year 1818, and the shameful conduct of the Judges on those occasions, who, with all the art and chicanery of their profession, attempt to hold up the present system of delusion, I am firmly persuaded that a Revolution in this country is inevitable. For Christianity can be proved to demonstration to be a gross imposture, and as it is the main prop that supports our hereditary legislators, I cannot imagine how the delusive system is to be kept together when the people become a little more knowing. Can the inquiring mind of man find any resting place, as far as regards two sciences—Theology and Politics—except in Atheism and Republicanism? I think not. It is therefore my most earnest wish that the next Revolution should be preceded by a period of seven or ten years of Free Discussion on all subjects, in order that our institutions may be placed on the unmoveable basis of Reason. To such an epoch those excellent men and women who now fill our prisons for publishing books on moral and philosophical subjects must look for a reward due to their personal sacrifices, in the mean time, the conscious rectitude of their own minds will be a constant source of happiness to them. Posterity will enroll their names among the benefactors of the human race.

I am, Sir, your sincere friend, &c.

AN ENEMY TO PERSECUTION.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE LIFE OF
ST. PAUL.*(Continued from page 224.)*

CHAP. X.

Of the Enthusiasm of St. Paul.

IT appears certain that this apostle was filled with enthusiasm and zeal. It will perhaps be asked whether we have a right to regard him as an impostor? a thousand examples prove to us, that nothing is more common, than to witness enthusiasm, zeal and imposture united in the same person. The most sincere enthusiast is generally a man whose passions are turbulent, and capable of blinding him; he takes his passions for divine impulses he deludes himself, and if we may be allowed the expression, gets intoxicated with his own wine. A man who at first engages in a particular cause from motives of interest, or ambition, very frequently finishes by attaching himself to it with sincerity and with strength proportioned to the sacrifices he may have made for it. If he succeed in persuading himself, that the cause of his passions is the cause of God, he will make no scruple of supporting it by all sorts of means, he will sometimes allow the use of artifice, deceit, and oblique ways of maintaining the opinions of which he happens to be convinced. It is thus we daily see very zealous devotees, employ deception, fraud, and sometimes crime, in support of the interests of religion, *i. e.* of the cause they have embraced.

Thus although in the first instance the desire of being revenged on the priests, or ambitious views, may have determined St. Paul to join the sect of Christians, he might have been able by degrees to attach himself strongly to it, to persuade himself that it was preferable to the religion of the Jews, and to employ objectionable means, in order to make it succeed in the world.

The examination that now remains for us to make of some features in the conduct of our apostle, and of some passages in the writings which are attributed to him, will serve better than any reasoning to determine the judgment, we ought to come to respecting this person. Let us then hear what he has to say for himself. This analysis will shew us whether Paul was so sincere, disinterested, humble,

mild, and upright as his partizans, maintain him to have been.

St. Paul in speaking of himself says: "That he knew a man who was caught up into the third heaven, and that there he heard unspeakable words, which it was not lawful for man to utter*." It appears in the first place that no one but a man of a very heated imagination could with sincerity pretend to have been caught up into the third Heaven; and no one but an impostor, could assert such a fact without being persuaded of it. In the second place we may ask of what use could it be to mankind that St. Paul should hear in the third heaven, unspeakable words, that is to say such as it was unlawful for man to utter? What should we think of a man who should come and assure us, that he possessed a secret most important to our happiness, but yet one which he was not permitted to divulge? Thus the voyage of St. Paul is either a chimera engendered by a sickly brain, or a fable, contrived by a cheat, who sought to make himself respected by boasting of the peculiar favours of the almighty. This voyage then was perfectly useless, since it was not permitted him who made it to relate that which he learnt from it. In short there is malice in St. Paul thus irritating the curiosity of his hearers and refusing to satisfy it. Under whatever point of view then we behold this history or tale of Paul's ravishment into the third heaven, it can be of no utility to us, and reflects but little honour upon himself.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Disinterestedness of St. Paul.

IN narrowly examining into the conduct of our Apostle, we shall have much difficulty in discovering that disinterestedness with which his partizans are so desirous of investing him. We have already exposed the natural motives which may have contributed to his conversion. If it be true as the Acts of the Apostles, adopted by the Ebionites or Nazarenes, asserts, that St. Paul flattered himself with the idea of marrying the high priest's daughter, and failed in the project, the disappointment might to a man of his passionate and hasty temper, be a motive sufficient to determine him to change sides, and from being as we have shewn him to have been the spy and satellite of the priests, basely seek-

* 2 Corinthians, chap. xii. ver. 2, 3, 4.

ing to gain their good will, by becoming the agent in their furies against the disciples of Jesus; to declare himself in favour of those, who were their greatest enemies. It was perhaps the ill success of Paul's amours, that determined him to a life of celibacy, and to boast of it as meretorious, whilst according to the Jewish law, nothing was held in less repute than this state. This holy man would doubtless transform into a virtue a conduct, which in him was nothing but chagrin and ill temper. He asserts that it is good for men to abstain from women; consequently our clergy have regarded celibacy as a virtue: they have fancied themselves obliged to imitate the great St. Paul even in his resentments against the sex. They have flattered themselves with the idea of being able to resist like him the temptations of the flesh, which often torments them; if they have indulgently permitted marriage to the profane, it is because Paul has said, it is better to marry than to burn.

It is notwithstanding probable that the conversion of St. Paul was occasioned by other motives than the anecdote related by the Acts of the Ebionites, which appears exposed to many objections. In fact, according to these Acts, Paul was a pagan born, was made a proselyte, and consequently he could not, without having been guilty of great folly, pretend to the daughter of a high priest, whose dignity was so eminent amongst the Jews. On the other hand according to the writings adopted by the Christians of our time, St. Paul was of the tribe of Benjamin, and would not have been permitted to marry the daughter of a high priest, who must necessarily have been of the tribe of Levi. Again Paul was a mechanic, a tent-maker, a situation which must have deprived him of all hope of an alliance so illustrious as that of a sovereign Pontiff. Thus unless we suppose that love had totally blinded our hero, to the obstacles which naturally opposed themselves to his desires, there is reason to believe that his conversion, or change of party, originated from other motives, than the chagrin of seeing his amours frustrated.

There is reason to believe that Paul being of a very unquiet genius, was tired of his trade: desirous of trying his fortune, and living without work, he became the spy of the priests and the informer against the Christians. Dissatisfied with the priests, who perhaps had not rewarded him to the extent of his expectations, he joined the new sect, which assisted by his talents promised good success, or even a probability that he might become the head; at least he might fairly calculate on an easy and honourable subsistence without

being obliged to make tents, In fact he saw, that the apostles, who were vulgar men much inferior to himself, lived very well at the expence of the new converts, who eagerly brought their wealth and laid it at the apostles feet, consequently Paul was sensible, how easy it was for him to live in the same way, and provide himself a very comfortable birth, in a sect, in which he felt himself capable of playing a very important part. His ambition must have been more gratified with occupying one of the first posts, even amongst beggars, than of cringing in an infamous and dishonourable capacity, under avaricious, haughty and disdainful priests. Indeed Paul himself tells us that he had relations of considerable note among the apostles, who having embraced the faith before him, might have laboured with success for the conversion of a man so disposed.*

The persecutions that he had excited against the disciples could not have put any very serious obstacles in the way of his admission into the apostolic college: nothing was required but to explain and agree upon facts. The chiefs of the sect were very much flattered at seeing the conquest made by their party of an inconvenient adversary, who came of his own accord, and offered his services. His conversion, effected by a miracle, did honour to his mission, and showed the vulgar the protection of heaven, which changed the heart of the most bitter enemy of the Christians. As Paul was not ignorant that in this sect great value was set upon miracles, visions and revelations, he thought this was the most favourable door by which he could enter, and render himself acceptable to the Ppostles; they received him with open arms well assured of the sincerity of a man who after having made such an uproar could not recede without making himself equally odious both to Jews and Christians. St Paul amongst other talents which rendered him a fit person to propagate the new religion, understood, according to appearances, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, whilst in spite of the gift of tongues, we do not find, that the other apostles possessed these advantages. In fact we see them remain at Jerusalem, preaching to the Jews only, whilst the new apostle extended his spiritual conquests, into the provinces of Asia and Greece, where it appears that without him the Gospel would not have been preached so soon.

Once connected with the new sect, Paul had doubtless a great interest in spreading it, in strengthening his party,

* Epis. to Romans, chap. xvi. verse 7.

making converts in order to gain support, and have the pleasure of reigning over a great number of devotees. Thus, under every point of view, we see that our Apostle, whether in his conversion, or in his preaching, was every thing but negligent of his interest. All missionaries have necessarily ambition; they propose to themselves the pleasure of governing minds, and every thing proves that Paul was not exempt from a passion inherent in all founders of sects. And further having once established his ecclesiastical power, we often see him taking care of his temporal interests, and making his flock feel how just it is that the priest should live by the altar; in a word to occupy himself with the emoluments of his preaching. "Let him," says he, "that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.*" He speaks in the same tone to the Thessalonians (chap. v. ver. 12.) He likewise recommends them an abundant charity.

It remains to be observed, St. Paul is not like his successors ungrateful for the benefits which he has received. He thanks the Philippians for having twice assisted him in his need. It appears that in his time the Apostles did not possess the divine right that men had the goodness to give them: but the clergy have since asserted that they hold from God alone, that which they obtained from the generosity of princes and people, which evidently, frees them from the necessity of showing gratitude to any one.

* Epis. to Galatians, chap. vi. ver. 6.

(To be continued.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR, THERE is no book better calculated to exercise the understanding and cultivate the enquiring faculties of a man, than Middleton's "Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers ascribed to the Church" (of Christ.) It is conducted with a searching pursuit of truth, and exhibits a clear comparison of facts and circumstances; the result of which leaves no doubt on the readers mind but that the whole tissue of wonders, to which the ecclesiastical writers demand our belief, are alike incredible, and unsubstantiated by even plausible evidence. And it is certain, that as such absurdities could never have found credit upon any other basis than the interest of priestcraft, availing itself the tendency to credulity of ignorant people. These tales having

once gained footing are easily incorporated with the rest of the religious fictions with which every innocent infant of the sect is innoculated, and the sanction of antiquity thus perpetuates the whole mass of absurdity.

It is a matter of real satisfaction to know that there is a work of this character, by means of which the whole fabric of church-cheating since the days of the apostles may be thoroughly undermined and exploded. And unless the miracles of the apostolic times can be supported by other evidence than the evidence which is here invalidated, it appears manifest that the belief in all must sustain an equal shock, or that the distinction in favour of the first performers rests upon nothing better than a Conventional agreement to believe them, because it is expedient to believe them.

The two main arguments by which the professors of Religion support their Creed, are,

1. The Divine Authorship of the Christian Religion.

2. Its transcendent merit as a rule of moral conduct.

It is with the first of these that I have a concern at present. Hereafter I may investigate the title which the gospel possesses to the latter claim.

The evidence on behalf of the divinity must of course be derived from the circumstance of its being attended with miraculous events, that is to say, with events which are not capable of being brought about by man.

Setting aside the well known fact that there exists not any religion on the face of the earth which does not enjoy similar pretensions to an unearthly origin, (if we would believe its respective votaries) I shall proceed to the evidences upon which the early miracles of the Christian church are received, together with some of the reasonings of the able author from whom I have gathered the information respecting them*.

The Church supporters, I mean its salaried supporters, or divines, all concur in the generally admitted notion that the miraculous powers continued to belong to the disciples of Christ, and to be exercised in furtherance of his design, from the days of the apostles downwards; and the only point upon which the learned are divided regarding them, consists in the extent of the period during which the miraculous powers were enjoyed. Some of these authorities choosing to restrict their duration to the first three centuries after the death of the apostles†; others again‡, allowing their continuance during the 4th, 5th, and even into the 6th century. Not that any any one of these critics can point out any mark of sanctity, or veracity, or any peculiarity as distinguishing either of these ages more

* These indeed are so acute and conclusive when employed against the primitive supporters of the religion, that I can hardly persuade myself that there could remain any remnant of superstitious weakness in favour of the imposture itself in the writer.

† Vide Dodwell and Waterland's works.

‡ Dr. Berriman. Dr. Chapman. Dr. Church.

than the rest. On the contrary, each of these hypothesis appear alike gratuitous and unaccountable; for the whole chain of testimony is equally undeniable, from the earliest promulgators of the Christian doctrines, down to the well attested miracles of the Roman Catholics in the 18th century; in so far as the formal declarations of numerous eye witnesses (some of whom were of most respectable character and of reputed veracity) can establish the facts to which they relate.

It is the consciousness of this parity of pretensions between the miracles of every age, that has set the Protestant divines upon devising some shift whereby they may slip out of the obligation of admitting the whole catalogue of relic work, as claimed by the rival sect of Catholicism; but the absence of all distinguishing features betwixt the later and the earlier wonders has necessarily occasioned the disagreement above noticed, as to the period at which faith may be withdrawn from their narrators.

Granting, however, for the sake of argument, that the early miracles do rest upon a more substantial ground than later ones* and that the proofs of them are the vety stoutest of any on record, it will be interesting to follow Dr. Middleton in his analysis of their value, by which he completely exposes the instability of those first rate props. Of course if these mighty bulwarks are shewn to be but rotten posts, the remainder, or lesser props of marvellous histories, must be viewed as altogether unequal to support them.

In the first place then, the earliest collectors of the sayings, doings, and of all the facts connected with the gospel ministry, were Papias and Ireneus. The former was an associate of Polycarp, whose intimacy with St. John the Evangelist it is pretended is well known, the latter was a kind of scholar of Papias and retailed a great deal at second hand of what Papias had imparted to him. He became a bishop afterwards and wrote accounts of the state of the church in his time.

These two persons relate, that miracles continued to be practised in their days; that raising the dead and casting out devils were occurrences of every day notoriety; that the disciples of Jesus all wrought miracles in his name; that the gift of tongues prevailed†; that St. Paul was taken up into heaven, and many more astonishing facts. Now these persons had, it is clear, every facility for obtaining the most accurate and extended information regarding the circumstances which belong to their times. And I think that if their testimony turns out inadmissible there can be no ground for believing any subsequent accounts; they being necessarily tainted with the same suspicion as the first tradition.

In order to estimate the value of the foregoing assertions we should enquire first into the character of the assertors; and second, into the evidence derived from contemporaneous writers, as either corroborating or contradicting the assertions in question.

* As Drs. Dodwell, and Waterland insinuate.

† "Free Enquiry," p. 10.

With respect to the first, there does not appear a single motive to ascribe the quality of veracity to either Papias or his disciple. Eusebius, an historian of the 4th century, considers him (Papias) as utterly unworthy of credit, and as having imposed upon Irenæus with all manner of gross falsehoods and *absurdities*, he also mentions him as "weak, of a shallow understanding, and as propagating fabulous tales*."

Mr. Millar, a learned commentator, strongly interested in supporting the facts which Papias attests, yet owns Papias to be destitute of credit, and abandons his evidence as of no value. In the case of Irenæus, the proofs of his being unworthy of belief rest chiefly upon the nature of his own writings, which contain such monstrous stories that no man of sense ever thinks of granting his belief to them, there is not a priest living, who would hazard the declaration of his belief in numerous facts advanced by Irenæus. Photius indeed a critic of the 8th century, warns the reader against Irenæus's "false and spurious reasonings†." One of his assertions is, that Jesus Christ lived to the age of 50, supported by another declaration that he had the information from those who associated with the apostles and received the same from them personally.

He states the story of the Septuagint version being composed by 70 elders, in 70 separate cells, and all agreeing in every word, and the destruction of the Scriptures and reproduction of them by the mouth of Esdras, and some other equally incredible marvels, which, in themselves are quite sufficient to disqualify any author from being relied upon; in fact every churchman is bound to deny the fact of Christ's living to 50, as at variance with all orthodox notions; and consequently to negative the veracity of this primitive collector of traditions.

So much for the internal evidence of the falsity of these accounts. Let us next see how far they are borne out by external testimony.

There is no mention whatever of the occurrence of the miracle of raising the dead in any historical writer of that period. The pagan historians are altogether silent concerning it, as well as every other.

Now at this period, philosophy had made considerable progress; the occurrence of this miracle which is alledged by Irenæus to have been so frequent, would no doubt have excited the curiosity of the learned, as calculated to assist their speculations regarding the nature of the soul, yet none of the Pagan writers so much as mention such a report. A more pointed instance of its fabulousness however, is recorded by Middleton, derived from the works of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch. Theophilus had a friend, whom he strenuously endeavoured to convert to Christianity‡. (Theophilus lived at the same time with Irenæus). This friend whose name was Autolyus, and who was a man of some consequence, agreed to turn Christian if Theophilus would shew him one person who had been raised from

* "Eusebius," p. 339.

† "Free Enquiry," p. 37.

‡ "Free Enquiry" p. 60. Quarto ed.

the dead: this condition Theophilus was unable to comply with, as appears from his own reply to Autolycus, quoted by Dr. Middleton, page 60 of the Free Enquiry*.

Such are the grounds upon which a tolerably correct estimate may be formed of the authenticity of Irenæus. There are no circumstances which at all confirm his writings, whilst their own contents exhibit every symptom of fraudulent imposture.

The Apostolic Fathers, or those who immediately succeeded the Apostles in the functions of gospel preaching, advance no claim whatsoever to the miraculous gifts. The very first of the successors of the Apostles who sets up such a one, is Justin Martyr, who came upon the stage about 50 years after their departure. This affords, of itself, a substantial ground for supposing the subsequent pretensions to be nothing more than inventions of Christian partizans; because, if the miraculous powers were withdrawn from the ministers of Christianity during its early struggles towards notice and influence, when of course it stood in most need of all divine assistance, it is in the last degree improbable that these gifts should be granted to the disciples of a later age, when the church had gained ground, both with respect to the number of its members, and the extended notoriety of its doctrines.

Dr. Middleton's examination reaches through the whole series of holy narrators; in the progress of which he lays open the inconsistencies of their writings, and gives quotations which amply justify the complete condemnation he pronounces upon them as matters of fact. It is not compatible with the limits which I have prescribed to myself to follow my learned critic in this work of exposition (at least not now, whatever I may do at some future time) my principal wish being to show sources of the fraud, which, protected by the sanction of antiquity has successfully maintained its hold on mankind. These mendacious individuals, Papias and Irenæus, it must be observed, are the first who quote the Gospels by name, and it is more than probable that it was owing to their accidentally specifying a certain four, which occasioned them to be adopted as genuine, and all the other numerous gospels to be cast aside by the compilers. But I deem it altogether credulous to affix a particle of belief to any traditions or assertions proceeding from a quarter whence the most palpable lies have emanated and thereby vitiated every part of their testimony. Would the advocates of Scripture venture to appeal to such authority, were it not for the genuine ignorance in which most people remain concerning the character of these men; it is therefore of essential utility to let in some light upon the subject, and I think such illumination as Dr. Middleton's lamp of truth has shed thereon, is far preferable to the perusal of the "Chronicles of the times of the Cæsars" which according to Parson Wood's reasoning (in his letter to W. V. Holmes†) is an indispensable

* "Theoph. ad Autol." l. 1, p. 77, c.

† "Republican," Oct. 11, No. 20: Vol. vi.

qualification for understanding the mysteries of the Gospel, and arguing upon religious matters at all; to be sure, the trouble of reading all that concerns Christianity in these historians, would be easily overcome, as there are only two, Suetonius and Tacitus, who make any mention of the sect whatever; and their notice would not have been excited by the doctrines or worship of the Christians, since they were too obscure and insignificant, for that, but they rendered themselves so obnoxious to the inhabitants of every place where they happened to live, that the authorities of the provinces were obliged to repress their troublesome and offensive conduct by occasional severities. Some instances of this nature are related incidentally by the classical writers above named, and that is all the illustration which the absurdities of Christianity are likely to derive from "the Chronicles of the times of the Cæsars."

From the foregoing review of the case I think it allowable to deduce these conclusions.

First. That the grounds upon which the miraculous powers have been ascribed to the first ages of Christianity are utterly false, and deserving of nothing but contempt.

Second. That no better grounds can be shewn for attributing the miraculous powers to any subsequent age.

Consequently the whole of such pretensions ought to be dismissed as untenable.

All that remains to be examined is, whether the gospel miracles *are*, or are not supported by any evidence of a superior quality. Should it turn out upon such examination, that the collateral proofs of their credibility are derived from sources of equally dubious veracity, they will command the same amount of belief as the remainder are proved to deserve. This enquiry, however, will form a separate article, and occupy some of my future leisure hours. Meantime, I cannot help pointing the attention of my thinking readers to the wilful deception which is upheld by Church supporters in appealing to the authority of the fathers, and citing their acts and opinions as infallible criteria of pure holiness; these very men being confessedly guilty of lying,* and weak and credulous to excess, fabricating and imposing upon all whom they could persuade to believe their tales. And this artificial sanctifying of the primitive dignitaries of the Church, renders the sources whence the apostolic traditions proceed liable to suspicion; since we find the Church indifferent to the truth or falsehood of that which it is her interest to maintain.

I shall now conclude these annotations, and take my leave of your publication until I can furnish some further matter in continuation of the subject of "Miraculous Powers." There are several other essays of the learned divine herein spoken of which afford both instruction and amusement with relation to the above enquiry, and which, since they may not be accessible to many of your friends it may be useful to give a sketch of, now and then.

I remain, Sir, your earnest well-wisher,

MARTIN VINCENT.

* "Free Enquiry," p. 48.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY WILLIAM TUNBRIDGE

To the Court of King's Bench when brought up for Sentence.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

THE purport of my present address is, to show why no kind of penal judgment should be passed upon me, and, as I mean to reason the matter fairly with your Lordships, and as I really wish to avoid, as far as truth will permit, the utterance of any thing that can be offensive to the most fastidious person, so I trust you will hear me out, and not interrupt me in the midst of a sentence, or even of a paragraph, where the sense of what precedes is expressed by what follows. I wish to make this provision, this treaty, with your Lordships, in consequence of the practice lately followed, exhibiting some very bad precedents. In cases of this kind, interruptions and suppressions of speech seem, I regret to say, to have become *almost* matter of course. On the 20th of January, I appeared before the Lord Chief Justice, at the Guildhall, in the City of London, to defend myself against the charges in an ex officio information filed by the Attorney General. When different police officers, of the Bow Street Establishment, swore that a book, called "Palmer's Principles of Nature," was purchased at a shop, or in a house, in Water Lane, Fleet Street, and that I was in the house at the time. Not one of them would swear that I delivered the book, or that I saw it delivered. Now, though I candidly acknowledge to your Lordships, that I had been in the employ of Mr. Carlile for the last three quarters of the last year, I was not privy to the sale of this identical book. I candidly acknowledge that I did sell many copies of the work, and that I continued to sell them as long as there was a copy of the edition left, yet this confession is no evidence for your Lordships, or for a Jury, and no one has shewn, no one can shew, that I did sell the copy which has been made the subject of this prosecution; were I ever so willing to avow it, I could not safely do it, as nothing has been shewn to bring any recollection of the matter to my mind. Your Lordships have no evidence before you that I did *publish* the book which is set forth in the Information, and the verdict of the Jury was not a deliberate verdict, but a hasty expression caught up in a squabble, and given before the proper time.

This I offer to your Lordships as one reason, and a legally sufficient reason too, why no kind of punishment should be inflicted upon me: but I have other reasons of far greater weight and importance.

To the want of evidence, I would add, that one of the officers stated in Court, that he thought me the proprietor of the business: yet so far from that statement being true, I here publicly declare that I was not even engaged directly by Mr. Carlile, but by the person to whom the business was entrusted. I had not the slightest

influence over the management of the concern, and I never sent a line to, or received a line from Mr. Carlile, after I was engaged in the business, nor until I had pleaded to the Information in this Court, and then only upon the subject of the prosecution. As far as there was any subordinate part in the business, I filled it, and though many have entered the same concern, desirous of, or willing to, brave prosecution, my desire was, from the first to the last, to evade it, and to do nothing that would subject me to it. I had no desire to encounter such Judges, such Juries, and such practices (*laws*, I know they are not) as put the philosopher on the footing of a felon, and punish both alike; which, whenever mercy does operate, operates in favour of the felon, who becomes exclusively the favourite.

I have stated that I had no desire to encounter prosecution; but I am not disposed to mask, or to deny my principles: they correspond with those developed in the highly philosophical work now in question, I feel the fullest assurance that no persecution can destroy them, no, nor even bring them into disrepute for a single moment, with those who comprehend them. The bigot may rail, and the despot may punish, but principles remain the same, they are eternal and immutable. You cannot check their eventual triumph, your *very prosecutions* and *punishments* will prove in the end inimical to your wishes and intentions.

The next reason, in the scale of importance, why no penal judgment should be passed upon me, is, that I have had no trial: I have been denied the right of making a defence. I entered the Court prepared to make a defence, a defence which must have left a favourable impression on every honest and enlightened mind. My intention was first to shew the Jury, that there was no kind of evidence laid before them to support the charges of the Information, or to shew that I had committed any breach of the law: second, to read the whole of the volume prosecuted, and thus to prove to the Jury, that its morality and its philosophical character were of the best and highest order, that its publication could not constitute a breach of the law: and, third, to lay a number of cases and a mass of reasonings before them, for the purpose of exposing the real character, the absolute wickedness of such prosecutions; and thus to dissuade the Jury from giving their support to such mischievous perversions: but I was stopped by the Judge before I had read a quarter part of what I had to offer; I had no trial: there was no defence allowed, I was condemned unheard.

I was prepared with an analysis of every extract from the volume set forth in the Information, I could and would have shewn, that they were warranted in truth, sound in morals, and conformable to law. These things I shall in some measure attempt to do this day. In short, I was prepared with as complete and as relevant a defence, as ever was offered to a Jury; and when the whole shall appear in print, it will reflect no credit on those who were unwilling, any more than on those who refused to hear it.

The statement I have just made forms of itself a strong argument, I may say a conclusive argument, in law, why no punishment should be inflicted upon me, but the stronger and the higher argument which I shall now lay before you is, the impolicy and wickedness of this prosecution. Impolitic, because it defeats the alleged purpose of its being instituted: wicked, because it is an attempt to chain down intellect; to curb the enquiring mind, and to counteract the good effects which would follow a free and open discussion on all subjects; and, particularly, on a subject so expensively supported, as to form the principal feature in the taxation of this country. I mean the religious institution of this and the neighbouring Island.

The high ground of justification which I have now to proceed upon is this, that your Lordships, as Judges of the law, have nothing to do with protecting the religion of the country; and that you cannot, upon any principle of reason or justice, connect the *religion* with the *law* of the land. The Church has its peculiar government, its legislature, its court, and its judges, and is the only existing legal power to take cognizance of matters connected with religion. No formal transfer of this power to the Court of King's Bench has ever taken place, and it was the ancient law and practice of this country, that the Church, as a government within itself, should manage all *its own affairs*. When heretics were burnt they were not I believe sentenced to death by the Court of King's Bench, or any other of our Common Law Courts, but by officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Judges of the Court of King's Bench, or the Judges of the Assize Courts, had the merit, the honour, and the credit, of destroying a few harmless old women, under the denomination of witches, but the power to destroy heretics was reserved to the Ecclesiastical Courts. I am an heretic of the present day, and I deny the power of your Lordships, as Judges of the political law, to become, or to take upon yourselves, the character of Religious Inquisitors.

The assertions which have been of late so often made, that libels which blaspheme the religion of the country are offences at Common Law, are totally without any just and proper foundation. Before the days of Sir Matthew Hale, such an assertion was never heard, and nothing has grown up since those days to add to the Common Law of the land. In fact, the improvements to which we have arrived in legislation ought to have rendered the whole of the Common Law obsolete for a century past.

Religion, in point of meaning or definition, is a word of no more weight, and can have no more connection with law, than the word, *Witchcraft*. Witchcraft was once part and parcel of the Common Law of the land, and, as a word, had even more influence, and carried more terror with it, than the word *Religion*. Both words express a fear of supernatural powers, which the philosopher smiles at and dispenses with: and as surely as the idea of the word *Witchcraft* has been scouted among intelligent men, so surely will the word *Religion* be subjected to the same fate. It relates to nothing, and demonstrates nothing;

it can have nothing to do with law, which, to be valid, must be a compact that relates to property. Life is a property; liberty is a property; but religion cannot come under the denomination of a property of which one man can be deprived by the intervention of another, against the will of the other. If it be a property, in any sense of the word, it may as such be held or yielded at pleasure, without affecting the interest or property of another. Religion is a thing of fancy, a thing of the imagination, about which there can be no compact between man and man; and consequently, there can be no religion of the law, or according to law, or in any way connected with the law. It is not sufficient that it has been so held by Sir Matthew Hale, or by different judges and lawyers since his time, I stand here to shew, that the thing is both a moral and physical impossibility; this I have shewn, and this I will continue to shew by other arguments: here is a point upon which no lawyer in this Court can oppose me, nor can your Lordships punish me, without violating the most just and most important conclusions.

Blasphemy towards religion, or to blaspheme religion, is no offence against law. If I blaspheme, that is, if I speak evil of another man's religion, I do nothing more than dispute the propriety of certain opinions. If I blaspheme, I cannot deprive him of his opinions, so long as he is convinced of their certainty; but if I convince him that they are wrong, I do a moral act, and he had better be deprived of them than hold them. All this has nothing to do with law; yet this is the sum and substance of the charge against me, set forth in the Attorney General's information; yet it was against this absurd charge that I was not allowed to defend myself! the Chief Justice certainly did tell me, that I might go on as long as I kept to a *legitimate* defence, but *legitimacy*, according to its modern definition, is become a most odious word, and expresses nothing short of absolute dictation, or the will and pleasure of despotism. Spain and Portugal are told by the despots of Europe in power, that their existing governments must be put down, because they do not proceed upon the *legitimate* plan of these despots; and because the people of these two well constituted governments are obstinately honest, and convinced of the rectitude of their opinions and proceedings, they *too* are to be punished with all the miseries that war and invading armies can inflict. If such be *legitimacy*, either in cases of government abroad, or in cases of trial in our Courts of Law at home, I will war with it to the utmost of my power.

It is curious to observe, and worthy of your Lordships' notice, how the advocates of these persecutions have been obliged to shift their positions, and excuses for their conduct, with the growing knowledge of mankind. When heretics were burnt, a plausible reason was assigned, that it was to the advantage of the victim to destroy his body for the purpose of saving his soul. Had the idea been founded in truth, it would have been not only plausible, but praiseworthy, and taking a comparative view of the knowledge of the times, then and now, there is a greater excuse for those who destroyed heretics, than

for these who now imprison the bodies and confiscate the property of individuals, for publishing philosophical books, the truth and morality of which are unimpeachable, and the arguments they contain unanswerable. Yes, my Lords, I look upon the Bonnors and the Gardiners of former times, as much less criminal and mischievous to society, and as possessing more of humanity and patriotism, than the present Judges and Law Officers, who of late have been so much employed in ruining and destroying the healths of moral and honest individuals, whose only crime was, and is, a desire to improve the condition of mankind.

When the cry of heresy ceased, that was when the majority of the people became heretics, as they will soon become Deists, and when it was no longer fashionable to burn bodies for the purpose of keeping up that brutal notion of preserving an ideal phantom called the soul from eternal burning, power was gratified with the increase of human misery upon the pretence that those men who differed from men in power were blasphemers. When there were no Deists, different sects of Christians were the blasphemers, and the Established Church punished all as blasphemers who dissented from her tenets, until the Dissenters became very numerous, and exhibited the madness of persecution in its proper colours and its inefficacy to produce the desired effects.

Now the Deists are become the only blasphemers; and Churchmen, Dissenters, and all, are united to persecute them; until it has become a question which has the majority of the people, Deists or Christians.

The first cry against the Deists was about the horrors which follow an absence of all religion, and the destruction of public morals arising therefrom: but it has been both theoretically and practically proved, that morals have no connection with or dependance upon religion, that the Deists and Atheists of this and other countries are the most distinguished moralists, and that social order and social improvement are matters wholly connected with morality, totally unconnected with religion, and in a great measure dependant upon free discussion, and the absence of all persecution and mental fear.

Under all these views of my case, considering, first, that there is no evidence of my having sold the book: second, that I have had no trial, that I was not allowed to read my prepared defence to the Jury: third, that there is in fact no breach of law in this case; and fourth that the impolicy, the immorality, and the mischief of all such prosecutions, to say nothing of the odious hypocrisy which every where attends them and results from them. I feel proud and undaunted, at my position, and am confident, that the law does not allow, and that the Court cannot *justly* award me any punishment; but that, your Lordships are bound in duty, in truth, in morality, in justice, and by your oaths of office to set me free from this prosecution.

NOTICE.

THE Trial or Mock Trial of William Tunbridge, with the whole of his suppressed Defence, will be printed in sheets, at three-pence each to commence within a few weeks. It will contain the whole of "Palmer's Principles of Nature," with some other valuable writings of Mr. Palmer taken from his American periodical work entitled "The Prospect." The foregoing speech may be received as a fair specimen of the character of the whole suppressed Defence.

ANNIVERSARY OF PAINE'S BIRTH.

STOCKTON AND STOKESLEY.

THE Republicans of the above Towns and Neighbourhood, assembled together at a Public House in Cleveland, in commemoration of the Birth-day of Thomas Paine, where after partaking of a plain but substantial dinner, the afternoon was enjoyed with the utmost hilarity and good humour. The following was the principal and almost the only toast drank on the occasion.

The Immortal Memory of Thomas Paine, and success to R. Carlile, and all true Republicans.

A RECITATIVE

Made by Mr. Stickland, at the London celebration of Mr. Paine's Birth-day January 20, 1823.

HAIL to this day! and hail that mighty name,
 Whose birth adds lustre to our Island's fame!
 Nor Albion's Isle alone the boast shall be,
 But the vast triumph of humanity!
 A thousand blessings shall on thee descend,
 Man's wisest, kindest advocate and friend.
 Great Paine! what feelings and what awe profound
 To my rapt heart is wafted with that sound:

Every idea that is good and kind,
With all that's wise and generous combined,
When thou art mention'd rushes on the mind,
We saw thee rise in Reason's hemisphere
Like a bright sun the dark'ning scene to clear,
And in thy shining course we trace the way
That leads to realms of intellectual day.
The mists of error flew before thine eyes,
And Truth's fair dawn began to gild the skies;
By Reason taught, 'twas thine the task to shew
Insulted erring man, his mortal foe:
And by thy light direct his wand'ring feet,
Knowledge and Truth and Happiness to meet.
With all a Patriot's zeal, a Patriot's fire,
To save a world did thy great soul aspire,
And circling all in thy capacious plan
Would give each human form the "Rights of Man."
Benign, Philanthropist! thy praise shall flow
Whilst e'er one human heart can feel the glow
Of love, or gratitude, or joy, or zeal
For human happiness or public weal.
Though Priests and Despots execrate thy name,
And fain would damn thy mem'ry and thy fame;
Spite of their deadly hate they both shall live,
And blessings yet to unborn nations give.
Millions shall rise to read thy glowing page;
The boast of this and every future age,
From that bright source shall catch the sacred fire,
And pure Philanthropy each heart inspire!
Reason and Truth shall re-assume their reign,
And children learn to lisp the name of Paine;
Whilst hoary sages, and the well-taught youth,
Hail thee the morning-star of light and truth;
Ardour shall nerve the arm, and warm each heart
In Freedom's cause, to act the Patriot's part:
And shield mankind from those destructive things,
Their Priests, their Lords, their Princes, and their Kings;
Whose only object, and whose sole employ
Is but to darken, plunder, und destroy.
Who, every mis'ry on mankind have hurl'd,
And drench'd with human gore the astonish'd world,
Ye grand demoralizers of this earth,
Curs'd be the darksome hour that gave ye birth,
And happy he whose hand shall strike the blow,
That lays a tyrant and a despot low.
Would that this arm had nerve and power to feil
A thousand tyrants to the depths of hell,
Defending Mercy's injur'd rights and laws,
I'd die with triumph in the sacred cause.

Rid of these demons, man no more would be
 A prey to pining want and misery ;
 Whilst his oppressors in licentious pride
 His suff'rings mock, his injuries deride :
 Nor urge him on to deeds of blood and strife,
 Hunting like beasts of prey each other's life :
 Nor with fell murd'ers leagued the sword shall wield
 Where mangled corpses strew th' ensanguined field,
 And reckless tyrants boast their thousands slain,
 Whose bones are left to whiten all the plain,
 Whose horrid acts description far exceeds,
 This is Ambition's ruthless power and deeds.
 O! may we live to hail the happy time,
 When men of every colour, name, and clime ;
 Shall all be join'd in friendship's sacred band
 And lend each fellow man the ready hand
 Of mutual kindness, and aspire to prove
 The blest effects of Harmony and Love.

Nature shall then new charms assume,
 This earth with richer tints shall bloom,
 New lustre gild the skies ;
 Yon golden orb more bright shall shine,
 And beauties yet unknown combine
 To greet our raptured eyes.

Whilst Plenty from her horn shall pour
 O'er all the earth her copious store,
 Beneficently free ;
 Philosophy her light shall spread,
 And drooping Science rear her head,
 When blest with Liberty.

Each man shall sit beneath his vine,
 No Priest shall rob him of his wine ;
 No tyrant dare destroy :
 The Poet's golden age shall rise,
 And Earth become like Paradise,
 A world of peace and joy.

And then, on Freedom's altar, we
 Will raise a statue, Paine! to thee ;
 And bend before that shrine :
 Thy precepts shall our hearts controul,
 Thy spirit reign in every soul,
 And mould them all like thine.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

SHOULD you think the following Lines sufficiently characteristic of the times, to entitle them to a corner in "The Republican," their insertion will oblige

Your most obedient Servant,

A. D.

SONNET.

There is a monster rages in this land,
Whose ghastly visage wears a horrid grin,
To lies and fraud she owes her origin,
Her office was by those infernals plann'd:
Fell Superstition at her dire command,
The tocsin sounds of intellectual war,
Religion's minister surround her car
With shouts of triumph, as she waves her wand;
While in her front a thousand Jailor's dance
With instruments of torture, whips, and chains,
To dungeon all who dare to truth advance,
And treat with scorn her penalties and pains!
She guards the Church, the King, and Constitution,
But murders Queens! her name is—Persecution.